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Sir Joseph Banks as patron of the *Investigator* expedition: Natural history, geographical knowledge, and Australian exploration

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Kenneth Morgan

Abstract

This article analyses the patronage provided by Sir Joseph Banks for the *Investigator* expedition, in which Matthew Flinders led the first circumnavigation of Australia in 1801–1803.

Keywords

Investigator expedition, Revesby Abbey, Banks

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Sir Joseph Banks, scientific patron and president of the Royal Society, first met Matthew Flinders in October 1793 when the then young midshipman visited Revesby Abbey, the family estate of Banks in Lincolnshire. Banks greeted Flinders, another Lincolnshire man, and reimbursed him for money loaned to an associate on William Bligh's second breadfruit voyage to the Caribbean in 1791–1792.¹ This began what proved to be an enduring connection between Banks and Flinders. In February 1795 Flinders joined the crew of H.M.S. *Reliance*, which was taking John Hunter, the second governor of New South Wales, from London to Sydney. When, in 1798, Banks became closely involved with the voyage of the *Porpoise*, taking the third governor, Philip Gidley King, to Sydney, he was keen to promote exploration of New South Wales.² Banks knew Flinders had

1. Flinders to Banks, 21 October 1793, in Neil Chambers, ed., *The Indian and Pacific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768–1820. Volume 4. Letters 1792–1798* (London, 2011), 158.

2. For Banks's correspondence on this voyage, see Mitchell Library, Sydney, Banks Papers, series 19.

Corresponding author:

Kenneth Morgan, XXX, **[AQ: 1]** UK.

Email: kenneth.morgan@brunel.ac.uk

been there for over 3 years, voyaging along the coast of New South Wales, sailing in Bass Strait, and exploring the coastal features of Van Diemen's Land. Banks recommended that Flinders—'A Countryman of mine, a Man of activity & information, who is already there'—should be entrusted with the command of a vessel to continue exploring New South Wales.³

Between October 1798 and January 1799 Flinders, promoted to lieutenant, circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land with his friend George Bass on the sloop *Norfolk*.⁴ He subsequently sailed northward from Sydney to Hervey Bay, now in Queensland, and returned to England on the *Reliance* in 1800. Only 11 days after returning home, Flinders wrote a bold letter to Banks requesting support for a voyage of maritime discovery to Australia. Flinders knew Banks was the single most important person in London acting as a patron and conduit for voyages of exploration. He had heard by January 1800 that the British government hoped to send out one or two ships to explore Australia's coasts, and it may be that Governor Hunter hinted he might be selected to sail on these voyages.⁵ Philip Gidley King, who succeeded Hunter as governor of New South Wales, had also suggested to Banks in March 1799 that Flinders would be a suitable commander for a surveying voyage in Australian waters.⁶ Flinders' letter of 6 September 1800 referred to his charts of Van Diemen's Land and Bass Strait, and discussed his work in surveying the coast of New South Wales. It emphasised the importance of a further, more ambitious voyage to promote British imperial interests and to extend knowledge of Australian geography and natural history, and provided a knowledgeable account of how the exploration of New South Wales and New Holland should be completed. Flinders tapped Banks's interest in botany by noting that the voyage to Australia 'should examine the natural productions of this wonderful country'.⁷

Flinders' letter to Banks was timely. Banks had a keen interest in Australian maritime exploration and in the potential benefits of British colonisation in New South Wales. He was directly involved with every significant government maritime expedition in the half

3. Banks to John King, 15 May 1798, in Chambers, ed., *Indian and Pacific Correspondence*, iv, 502, and also in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, 33 vols. (Sydney, 1914–25), series 1, ii, 231.

4. Miriam Estensen, *The Life of George Bass: Surgeon and Sailor of the Enlightenment* (Crows Nest, NSW, 2005), 99.

5. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Flinders to Pultney Malcolm, 17 January 1800, Flinders Papers; T.M. Perry, **TAQ: 2** 'Matthew Flinders – The Man' in R.W.M. Russell, ed., *Matthew Flinders: The Ifs of History* (Adelaide, 1979), 55.

6. Mitchell Library, Philip Gidley King to Banks, 20 March 1799, Banks Papers, series 39.043.

7. Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis, Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator, and Subsequently in the Armed Vessel Porpoise and Cumberland Schooner, with an Account of the Shipwreck of the Porpoise, Arrival of the Cumberland at Mauritius, and Imprisonment of the Commander during Six Years and a Half in that Island*, 2 vols. (London, 1814), I, cciv; Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 6 September 1800, Banks Papers, series 65.01 (quotation). Most of this letter is transcribed in James D. Mack, *Matthew Flinders, 1774–1814* (Melbourne, 1966), 43.

century after 1770.⁸ He had visited the east coast of Australia with James Cook on the *Endeavour* in 1770, and left a detailed journal of his experiences on that major voyage of Pacific exploration. He accumulated many plants and exotic flora from that voyage, hired artists to paint watercolours of the specimens, and paid engravers to make copper-plate engravings of the plants in a florilegium.⁹ Banks maintained his strong interest in New South Wales. He recommended Botany Bay in 1779 and 1784 as a site for penal settlement, and corresponded with governors of New South Wales about the economic prospects of that colony, which he regarded as a potential source of valuable commodities for Britain. After 1789 Banks was involved with several voyages to Botany Bay that were intended to bring back plants for the Royal Gardens at Kew. Banks had expanded these gardens under his informal direction to become a world-encompassing centre for imperial botany and scientific improvement.¹⁰ In 1800, Banks secured for Lieutenant James Grant the command of the *Lady Nelson* as a surveying brig for coastal exploration of New South Wales. It was intended that Flinders should take over the vessel in Sydney, but instead he returned to England on the *Reliance* before the *Lady Nelson* arrived at Port Jackson.¹¹

Maritime exploration, scientific progress and the search for an economically self-sufficient Australia lay at the heart of Banks's involvement with the southern hemisphere.¹² Banks also wanted botanical specimens for his own herbarium and for Kew Gardens.¹³ But in keeping with his encouragement of the growth of knowledge, Banks had supported a French scientific expedition to Australia under Nicolas Baudin in 1800 by arranging for it to have passports from the British government to sail in Australian

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8. Banks's contributions to maritime exploration are discussed in David Mackay, 'A Presiding Genius of Exploration: Banks, Cook, and Empire, 1767–1805' in Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, eds., *Captain James Cook and his Times* (Vancouver, 1979), 23, 24, 29; David Mackay, 'Agents of Empire: The Banksian Collectors and Evaluation of New Lands' in David Philip Miller and Peter Hans Reill, eds., *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge, 1996), 49, and Glyndwr Williams, 'The Common Center of We Discoverers': Sir Joseph Banks, Exploration and Empire in the Late Eighteenth Century' in R.E.R. **IAQ: 3** Banks, B. Elliott, J.G. Hawkes, D. King-Hale and G.L. Lucas, eds., *Sir Joseph Banks: A Global Perspective* (Kew, 1994), 177.
 9. John C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768–1771*, 2 vols. (Sydney, 1962); Judith A. Diment, Christopher J. Humphries, Linda Newington and Elaine Shaughnessy, *Catalogue of the Natural History Drawings Commissioned by Sir Joseph Banks on the Endeavour Voyage 1768–1771 Held in the British Museum. Part 1: Botany, Australia*, *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)*, Historical series volume 11 (London, 1984).
 10. Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, 2000), 125.
 11. Margaret Steven, *First Impressions: The British Discovery of Australia* (London, 1988), 36, 70; Miriam Estensen, *Matthew Flinders: The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Crows Nest, NSW, 2002), 119.
 12. John Gascoigne, 'The Scientist as Patron and Patriotic Symbol: The Changing Reputation of Sir Joseph Banks' in Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo, eds., *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography* (Cambridge, 1996), 243.
 13. Drayton, *Nature's Government*, 80.

waters. This was in keeping with his previous aid for French voyages of exploration by la Pérouse and d'Entrecasteaux in the 1780s and 1790s.¹⁴ Flinders' request that Banks should support him as commander of a British voyage of exploration to Australia, to extend and complete the work of Cook in mapping and charting its shores, and in securing scientific specimens for dissemination in Britain, came at an opportune moment. Having supported a French expedition to Terra Australis, Banks became anxious that the French would make 'new gains in natural history beyond his reach, of new species found for other herbaria than his own'.¹⁵

Banks's greatest contribution to Australian maritime exploration came with his support for Flinders on the *Investigator* expedition and in his subsequent efforts on behalf of Flinders personally and to disseminate the voyage's scientific findings.¹⁶ Many books on Banks or Flinders refer to their cooperation on the *Investigator* expedition, but they do not fully bring out the sheer extent and significance of their connection for the whole enterprise.¹⁷ This article establishes the importance of the links between Banks and Flinders throughout the voyage, drawing, in particular, on their extensive correspondence. It shows that they were drawn together by 1800 through a mutual interest in the exploration of Australia; that they were closely involved in the planning of the expedition; that Banks made the major contribution to the instructions issued to Flinders; that Flinders mainly consulted Banks on the outfit of the vessel; that the two men were in close contact for the duration of the voyage. The article also considers Banks's support for the scientific personnel and their collections arising from the voyage, especially in relation to Robert Brown's botanical work, and William Westall and Ferdinand Bauer's paintings and sketches. Banks's patronage laid the foundations for Flinders' achievements in circumnavigating Australia.

I

Banks had invited Flinders to attend evening conversations at his London home after the young navigator returned from New South Wales to England in 1800.¹⁸ Banks must have been sufficiently impressed by Flinders' ambition to carry out further maritime exploration of Australia, for he gave Flinders the opportunity to undertake an important voyage that would earn him fame.¹⁹ In a letter dated 16 November 1800, Banks cordially agreed

14. Nicole Starbuck, 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Baudin Expedition: Exploring the Politics of the Republic of Letters,' *French History and Civilisation: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar*, 3 (2009), 56.

15. H.B. Carter, **IAQ: 4** Sir Joseph Banks (London, 1988).

16. For some brief comments on Banks's role in preparing the voyage, see Mackay, 'A Presiding Genius of Exploration,' 32.

17. For scattered material on the connection between Banks and Flinders, see George Mackaness, *Sir Joseph Banks: His Relations with Australia* (Sydney, 1936); Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks*; and Estensen, *Matthew Flinders*.

18. Entry for 18 March 1811 in Anthony J. Brown and Gillian Dooley, eds., *Matthew Flinders Private Journal 1803–1814* (Adelaide, 2008), 351.

19. David Mackay, 'In the Shadow of Cook: The Ambition of Matthew Flinders' in John Hardy and Alan Frost, eds., *European Voyaging towards Australia* (Canberra, 1990), 107.

to discuss Flinders' plans for such a voyage, which would be the first circumnavigation of Australia.²⁰ Action followed quickly, mainly because Banks had influential connections with government departments that were needed to support the voyage. Five days after Banks had written to Flinders, the Admiralty selected a ship for the voyage—the *Xenophon*—and then instructed the Navy Board to begin her refit at Sheerness.²¹ The Navy Board was ordered to order provisions expeditiously for 6 months in the foreign service.²² That this happened so quickly suggests that some prior arrangements had been made to select the vessel. Flinders later wrote that his plan to carry out a full exploration of Australia's coast was approved by Banks, 'that distinguished patron of science and useful enterprise'.²³

In December 1800 Banks contacted Earl Spencer, first Lord of the Admiralty, about the intended expedition. Banks and Spencer were neighbours in London; they shared an interest in scientific exploration and sat together on the boards of the Royal Institution and the British Museum.²⁴ In a detailed memorandum to Spencer, and with close knowledge of Flinders' survey work on the coast of New South Wales in the 1790s, Banks recommended Flinders as the leader of an expedition on the *Investigator* to explore Australia. He set down the objectives of the voyage, indicating that it should aim to reach the west coast of Australia before the Baudin expedition. This, Banks considered, was possible because the French voyage had scheduled a sojourn at the Ile de France (now Mauritius) and Bourbon, probably lasting 2 months, before crossing the Indian Ocean. Banks estimated the time necessary for the *Investigator* to sail to Australia, and suggested the route it should take across the Atlantic and Indian oceans. He wrote about the need 'to anticipate the French'.²⁵

Banks provided a detailed itinerary for the expedition. He suggested that the *Investigator* should put into the harbour in King George Sound (in modern Western Australia) for refreshment and refitting if required, and should then proceed to Sydney Cove, enlist the help of the *Lady Nelson* there, and then survey Australia's south coast in a westerly direction from Bass Strait to King George's harbour. The vessel should also explore the Gulf of Carpentaria and parts to the westward of it between 130° and 140° east of longitude, 'where the Coast of New Holland is not Laid down as Continuous'. The *Investigator* should then investigate and survey Torres Strait and the coast of New South Wales; inspect the north and north-west coasts of New Holland; and carefully examine the east coast of Australia, from Cape Flattery, on the east coast of the Cape York peninsula, to the Bay of Inlets, already seen by Cook on the *Endeavour* in 1770. Banks emphasised the importance of seeking any creek or opening that might be 'a Strait

20. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (NMM), Banks to Flinders, 16 November 1800, Flinders Papers, 60/017, FLI/1.

21. Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 118.

22. The National Archives. Kew (TNA), ADM 2/294:51, Admiralty to the Navy Board, 10 December 1800.

23. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, cciv.

24. John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), 125.

25. Banks to George John Spencer, [December 1800], in Neil Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks: A Selection, 1768–1820* (London, 2000), 219.

leading through the land'. This reflected a common concern among maritime explorers of Australia to find a major river connecting with the coast. Banks wanted those parts of the Australian coast surveyed that were most likely 'to be fallen in with by Indiamen in their outward Bound Tracks', an indication that Australia might serve as a trading base for East India Company voyages. He emphasised the important work to be carried out by the naturalists and the painters 'in order to Favor science as much as may be in this undertaking'.²⁶ This was a voyage in which botany and charting were to be major objectives.²⁷

Banks had the *Investigator*'s voyage regularly in his thoughts around the time he wrote his memorandum to Earl Spencer. His papers include another, shorter memorandum from December 1800 in which he stated that a ship had been found for the voyage, with Spencer's agreement. This stimulated Banks to jot down the number of seamen and marines needed.²⁸ He identified a naturalist and natural history painter for the voyage, and recommended Peter Good, who had previously collected plants for Kew, as gardener.²⁹ Banks offered the post of naturalist to Robert Brown, then on service with his Fifeshire regiment in Ireland. Banks had to intervene to secure Brown's release from his regiment.³⁰ This was after the explorer Mungo Park had turned down an invitation for this position. Brown was connected with the Linnean Society in London, and became one of Banks's leading protégés.³¹ Banks was attracted by Brown's enthusiasm for natural history.³² Brown worked regularly in Banks's herbarium before the voyage began, studying the Australian plants brought back to London by earlier collectors. These included items from Cook's *Endeavour* voyage and from Archibald Menzies' collections at King George Sound on George Vancouver's voyage of 1791.³³ Banks was in contact with the astronomer royal Nevil Maskelyne, who sought a suitable astronomer and identified the scientific instruments needed for the voyage. Maskelyne quickly arranged to acquire chronometers by leading makers such as Ramsden, Earnshaw and

26. Banks to Spencer, [December 1800] in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 219. For further details issued by Banks see Mitchell Library, 'Draft of Instructions for the Investigator,' March 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.39. For the Admiralty's instructions to Flinders, see n. 61 below. The Isles of Direction, off Cape Flattery, are now called South Direction, North Direction and Lizard islands.

27. Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd edn. (New Haven, 1985), 197.

28. Mitchell Library, Memorandum written by Banks, 12 December 1800, and 'Original Establishment Proposed,' 12 December 1800, Banks Papers, series 63.01 and 63.03.

29. Mitchell Library, William Townsend Aiton to Lord Wemyss, 1 January 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.06; Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 147.

30. Mack, Matthew Flinders, 55.

31. D.J. Mabberley, [AQ: 5] *Jupiter Botanicus: Robert Brown of the British Museum* (London, 1985), 62; Steven, *First Impressions*, 73.

32. British Library (BL), Add MS 32,439, Banks to Brown, 12 December 1800.

33. David T. Moore, 'Robert Brown on H.M.S. Investigator 1801–1805: An Overview of the Natural History Collecting Localities' and Eric W. Groves, 'Procrastination or Unpredictable Circumstances? The Handling of Robert Brown's Australian Plant Collections in London' in Juliet Wege, Alex George, Jan Gathe, Kris Lemson and Kath Napier, eds., *Matthew Flinders and his Scientific Gentlemen* (Fremantle, 2005), 50, 130.

Arnold.³⁴ William Westall was chosen as the landscape and figure painter. Banks contacted Sir Gilbert Blane, the Navy's most notable physician about a surgeon. Blane recommended Hugh Bell, a surgeon with an interest in science and natural history.³⁵ The Admiralty selected John Crosley as the astronomer for the voyage. He was employed by the Board of Longitude. This was the only choice among the scientists not made by Banks.³⁶

Banks drew up a shortlist of possible new names for the *Xenophon* on this important voyage of discovery. One of his suggestions, the *Investigator*, was selected by the Admiralty, which, on 19 January 1801, ordered the Navy Board to prepare this vessel for an expedition to the southern hemisphere.³⁷ Banks was soon involved in detailed preparations for getting the *Investigator* ready. Numerous individuals wrote him letters, requesting to be included on the voyage.³⁸ Banks accepted some and rejected others. He emphasised the importance of finding an expert in mineral investigation who should 'under the direction of the naturalist, take specimens of all rocks, and particularly of the contents of all mineral veins he meets with, and brings them home'.³⁹ Banks engaged John Allen for the voyage to investigate rocks and other minerals.⁴⁰ Banks forwarded to Flinders a suggested list of the *Investigator*'s establishment and itemised the projected salaries for the specialist personnel.⁴¹ These were approved by the Navy Board and the salaries were operative from 10 February 1801, when Banks engaged these men.⁴² Banks was well connected with the chief officials at the Admiralty, whom he persuaded to provide full backing to patronage of the natural sciences on voyages of exploration.⁴³

Flinders kept Banks informed about 'the wants we may have, and the alterations that may be necessary, hoping for your assistance in forwarding their accomplishment'. He suggested an additional cabin should be included to keep the ship's stores and the naturalist and mineralogist's specimens. He wanted warrant officers included in the ship's establishment and several additional personnel; sufficient guns to arm the vessel; two

34. Mitchell Library, Maskelyne to Banks, 23 and 24 December 1800, Banks Papers, series 63.04-05.

35. Mitchell Library, Blane to Banks, 17 January and 14 February 1801, and Bell to Blane, 12 January 1801, series 63.17, 63.32.

36. Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 145.

37. David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science & Empire, 1780–1801* (London, 1985), 3.

38. For example, Mitchell Library, Samuel Williams to Banks, c. 2 February 1801, William Milnes to Banks, 4 February 1801, Thomas Richardson to Banks, 4 February 1801, Richard Rowe to Banks, 7 February 1801, Robert Fowler, Sr to Banks, 13 February 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.25-28, 31.

39. Banks to [William Milnes], 20 January 1801, in F.M. Bladen, [AQ: 6] ed., *Historical Records of New South Wales*, 7 vols. (Sydney, 1892–1901), IV, 290.

40. Mitchell Library, Banks to Nepean, 2 April 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.42.

41. Mitchell Library, 'Investigator's establishment,' c. January 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.11.

42. Banks to [Evan Nepean], 9 February 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 299; BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 30–1, Navy Board to Robert Brown, William Daniel, Ferdinand Bauer, Peter Good and John Allen, 15 April 1801.

43. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 125-6; Drayton, *Nature's Government*, 126.

whaleboats; and an order procured for the port admiral at Sheerness to provide additional crew volunteers.⁴⁴ Flinders informed Banks that a greenhouse was being fitted to the deck of the *Investigator* to carry out useful plants to Sydney, and supplied a list of the books, stationery, charts, instruments and items needed for presents and barter.⁴⁵ Within a month of this request, the Navy Board supplied several astronomical and nautical instruments for the voyage.⁴⁶

The *Investigator's* voyage was delayed by the need to secure a passport via the Foreign Office against possible hostile interference from the French during wartime. The Foreign Secretary did not apply for this document until May 1801 and it only arrived in London on 23 June.⁴⁷ Anxious to inform Banks about the reasons for the delay in starting the voyage, Flinders explained his lengthy dealings with the Victualling Board for water casks and provisions, and his contacts with the Navy Board over the appointment of a master and warrant officers. Flinders wanted to consult Banks in person about the instruments, stationery and articles of barter for the voyage, but was unable to leave the ship at Sheerness because he needed to ensure all the officers came on board.⁴⁸

Banks's close concern with the *Investigator's* voyage is revealed in a letter indicating he had read a short volume by Flinders, namely *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land, on Bass's Straits and its Islands, and on Parts of the Coasts of New South Wales, Intended to Accompany the Charts of the late Discoveries in those Countries, by Matthew Flinders, Second Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Reliance*. This had been published in February 1801 by John Nichols, whose address was around the corner from Banks's London residence at 32 Soho Square. The book was accompanied by three charts—one of Bass Strait, one of part of the coast of New South Wales, and a sheet of four plans.⁴⁹ Flinders dedicated the volume to Banks: 'Your zealous exertions to promote geographical and nautical knowledge, your encouragement of men employed in the cultivation of the sciences that tend to this improvement, and the countenance you have been pleased to show me in particular, embolden me to lay the following observations before you'.⁵⁰ Flinders had been shrewd enough to ensure that Banks received a copy, with the dedication, in good time for his patron to consolidate his awareness of Flinders' prior accomplishments in surveying and charting parts of Terra Australis and his ability to write up his findings in accurate, succinct prose.

44. Flinders to Banks, 24 and 26 January 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 291-4. The first letter is also in Paul Brunton, ed., *Matthew Flinders: Personal Letters from an Extraordinary Life* (Sydney, 2002), 57.

45. Flinders to Banks, 29 January 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 295; Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 8 February 1801, Banks Papers, series 65.06.

46. TNA, ADM 2/294, f. 477, entry for 7 March 1801.

47. Flinders to Banks, 21 May 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 371; Mitchell Library, Nepean to Banks, 8 June 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.61. Reasons for the delay in securing this document are discussed in Mack, *Matthew Flinders*, 75.

48. Flinders to Banks, 4 February 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 296.

49. Flinders to Banks, 11 February 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 300; Geoffrey C. Ingleton, *Matthew Flinders, Navigator and Chartmaker*, 2 vols. (Guildford, 1986), I, 100.

50. Quoted in Ernest Scott, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Sydney, 1914), 123.

Flinders received his commission as commander of the voyage through Banks's connection with Lord Spencer.⁵¹ Banks was delighted at his protégé's commitment to the expedition. 'I give you sincere joy at the attainment of your wish in your appointment of Commander', he wrote to Flinders. He added: 'I have long known that it was Certain, but I am glad it is now placed beyond the Reach of accident, or the change of administration'—a reference to Addington's administration succeeding that of the Younger Pitt on 14 March 1801. Banks added that Flinders should not overlook the provision of appropriate scientific instruments, noting that Vancouver, on his round-the-world expedition of 1791–1795, set a poor precedent by sailing without an astronomer.⁵² Banks was in touch with the East India Company about payments to be made to Flinders to support the voyage.⁵³ The Company agreed the payments requested because they wanted information about whether the west and north-west coasts of Australia offered safety for their outward-bound ships sailing in the Indian Ocean.⁵⁴ Banks thanked the Company for their support for the expedition, and added he would be very disappointed if the voyage did not discover articles of importance and commerce that would induce East India Company ships to be fitted out for Australia.⁵⁵

Flinders and Banks corresponded frequently between March and July 1801, when the *Investigator* was ready to sail from Spithead. Flinders wanted a good master found, with sufficient remuneration available for a complex voyage. He also hoped Banks could influence the Comptroller of the Navy Board to supply a five-oared whaleboat.⁵⁶ Banks had sufficient connections with the Admiralty Board's secretary Evan Nepean that his wishes were granted almost without question. When Banks wrote to the Admiralty with suggestions about the dissemination of the journals and the animal specimens from the voyage, Nepean replied: 'Any proposal you make will be approved. The whole is left entirely to your decision'.⁵⁷ Banks was accustomed to playing a leading role in British voyages of discovery to the southern hemisphere, and the government no doubt welcomed his help while embroiled in a war with Napoleonic France. Banks was an indispensable go-between for organising maritime expeditions at a time when government found its administrative resources stretched.⁵⁸

51. Flinders to Banks, 18 February 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 303, and also in Brunton, ed., *Matthew Flinders*, 60.

52. NMM, Banks to Flinders, 19 February 1801, Flinders Papers, 60/017, FLI/1. Vancouver set out on his voyage of 1791 without an astronomer, but after sailing from England he changed his mind and applied to the Board of Longitude for one. The astronomer then selected died before he could join the expedition. W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *The Voyage of George Vancouver, 1791–1795*, 4 vols., Hakluyt Society Publications, second series, 165 (London, 1984), i, 32, 51.

53. Mitchell Library, Hon. East India Company to Banks, 30 April 1801, Banks Papers, series 64.04.

54. Mack, *Matthew Flinders*, 70.

55. Mitchell Library, Banks to the East India Company, 24 April 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.49.

56. Flinders to Banks, 9 March 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 310.

57. Banks to Nepean and reply, 28 April 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records of New South Wales*, IV, 348.

58. Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook*, 20; Mackay, 'A Presiding Genius of Exploration,' 33.

Flinders wrote expeditiously to Nepean about the need to forward the books, stationery, charts and articles of barter and presents for the voyage, and the necessity to appoint a draughtsman and naturalist, as well as securing passports.⁵⁹ He followed this up with a further request for a pocket chronometer by Arnold or Earnshaw as he had not received any such instrument from the Board of Longitude. Banks ensured that the pocket chronometer was provided along with the charts from the Admiralty by 10 May 1801.⁶⁰ Banks advised the Admiralty on the equipment and presents for the natives that would be needed on shore in Australia.⁶¹ He presented to Flinders books detailing previous voyages to the South Seas and a copy of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These were to form a library in Flinders' cabin for the officers' use. Every chart at the Admiralty relating to Terra Australis was copied under the direction of the Alexander Dalrymple, the first hydrographer of the Admiralty, and made available for the voyage.⁶²

Banks ensured his own imperatives for the voyage were met. He gathered together at his home in Soho Square the scientists and painters selected for the expedition, and made them sign an agreement about the public ownership of the material they were to investigate in Australia, and the terms under which the collections were to be used and distributed. Seven numbered points were listed as part of these instructions. Particular attention was given to the way in which each man should relate to the others in terms of his professional skill and to the possibility of their findings being published as engravings, charts, plans and figures to accompany a narrative of the voyage to be drawn up by Flinders, in keeping with the precedent set by the publication of the results of Cook's voyages.⁶³ Banks advised Flinders that the astronomer should make his observations available for the use of the ship, but that the naturalist and the painters should concentrate on their original observations and drawings so that they could send home appropriate samples along with Flinders' dispatches.⁶⁴

Banks's interest in botany led him to offer detailed advice to the naturalist Brown. He advised Brown to concentrate on those branches of natural history with which he was most familiar; others should be identified by specimens with careful notation of the place where they were found and remarks on their situation and the neighbouring country that could later be examined by specialists. Botany was to take pride of place in the investigation of natural history. Geology and mineralogy, Banks suggested, 'must be considered by you as subsidiary pursuits & you will be required to do in them no more than is compatible with a full attention to Botany Entomology Ornithology &c'. Under Banks's supervision, Brown extracted a collection of about a thousand duplicates of plants

59. Flinders to Banks, 17 March 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 336; TNA, ADM 1/1800, Flinders to Nepean, 15 March 1801.

60. Flinders to Banks, 10 May 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 366.

61. Mitchell Library, Copy of a letter received by the Navy Board from the Admiralty, 15 April 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.45.

62. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, i, 5.

63. Banks to Robert Brown, Ferdinand Bauer, William Westall, Peter Good and John Allen, 29 April 1801, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 230. For drafts of this document see Mitchell Library, 'Draught of an Undertaking &c,' Banks Papers, series 63.08 and 63.09.

64. Banks to Flinders, June 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 388.

previously brought back from Australia to be taken on the voyage. These were kept in Banks's library and herbarium. They were hastily mounted on sheets of tough brown cartridge paper. Banks also furnished Brown with all the major published descriptions of Australian plants.⁶⁵ Brown was to be assisted by the miner, who was advised by Banks to examine rocks and steep crags, and to show the naturalist any solid bodies or stones with a metallic appearance. In addition, Brown could call upon the services at Port Jackson of a young man, George Caley, whom Banks had sent there to collect plants for him.⁶⁶

Flinders' orders for the voyage from the Admiralty closely followed the suggestions Banks had made to Spencer, though they are explained in greater detail.⁶⁷ Flinders suggested to Banks that his examination of the north-east coast of New Holland would be better carried out by sailing outside the reefs, to ascertain their extent from the coast, rather than following Cook's track on the *Endeavour*, but that where no coast was seen by him, it would then be more appropriate to investigate it through the reefs. Prevailing winds in winter blew from the east, and the circumnavigation of Australia would be more expeditiously performed from east to west rather than vice versa, especially as the wind would be more westerly from the south-west cape. This would enable him to complete any survey work along the unexamined part of the south coast.⁶⁸ Thus, owing to the delay in the sailing of the *Investigator* from England, Flinders informed Banks it would be necessary to examine the south coast of Australia minutely on his first run along it rather than sailing to Port Jackson and then returning westwards to the south coast to accomplish that task. This was contrary to the Admiralty's orders. Flinders suggested this change because he thought the voyage's success depended upon being on Australia's south coast in summer and on its north coast in winter.⁶⁹ Banks did not reply to these suggestions, but Flinders indicated, on finally receiving his sailing orders and passport, that the Admiralty had not changed their instructions. He hoped Banks would 'see the examination of New Holland performed in the way that will be most gratifying to you'.⁷⁰

Nothing was allowed to come between Flinders and his voyage to Terra Australis; as he informed Banks, 'My greatest ambition is to make such a minute investigation of this extensive and very interesting country that no person shall have occasion to come after

65. Phyllis I. Edwards, 'Robert Brown (1773–1858) and the Natural History of Matthew Flinders' Voyage in H.M.S. *Investigator*, 1801–1805,' *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, 7 (1976), 388.

66. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 41-2, [Banks] to [Brown], 15 June 1801. In the event, Caley, who had limited botanical training, declined to join Brown on the *Investigator*, a decision supported by Banks. J.E.B. Currey, [AQ: 7] ed., *George Caley, Reflections on the Colony of New South Wales* (Melbourne, 1966), 73.

67. Mitchell Library, 'Copy of Instructions for H.M.S. *Investigator*,' May 1801, Banks Papers, series 63.60. For further copies see TNA, ADM 1/1800, Admiralty orders for the *Investigator*'s voyage, May 1801, and NMM, 'Instructions from the Admiralty for Voyage of Discovery in H.M.S. *Investigator*,' 22 June 1801, Flinders Papers, FLI/3. A transcription of the Admiralty's instructions is provided in Mack, *Matthew Flinders*, 242.

68. Flinders to Banks, 29 April 1801, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 352-3.

69. Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 5 July 1801, Banks Papers, series 65.28.

70. Flinders to Banks, 17 July 1801, in Brunton, ed., *Matthew Flinders*, 76.

me to make further discoveries'.⁷¹ The only matter on which Banks and Flinders disagreed was about whether the young commander should take his wife on the voyage. Flinders had married on 17 April 1801, and intended to take his wife to Australia. But Banks explained that this contravened naval regulations and discipline, and that the Lords of the Admiralty would replace Flinders as commander of the *Investigator* if this were to happen.⁷² Flinders' ambition overcame his personal feelings. He was committed to the purpose of the *Investigator*'s voyage 'in a way that shall preclude the necessity of anyone following after me to explore'.⁷³ He did not want to risk the ill opinion of the Admiralty Lords, and so he decided that his wife must remain in England as soon as his sailing orders arrived.⁷⁴

Flinders recognised the importance of Banks's patronage in attempting to achieve this goal, referring to the President of the Royal Society as 'my greatest and best friend'.⁷⁵ Having made meticulous arrangements for the voyage, Banks did not correspond with Flinders for several months after the voyage began. He expected his protégé would in his future conduct do credit to himself 'as an able navigator, and to me as having recommended you'.⁷⁶ All the preparations for the voyage suggest that Banks and Flinders were united in their perception of the expedition's significance, and that a fruitful engagement between patron and protégé would ensue.

II

Banks's support for the fitting out of the *Investigator* was far from the end of his involvement with the voyage. Despite the problems of separation and communication over vast distances—with Banks staying in England and Flinders sailing on the oceans—the patron and his protégé maintained correspondence as far as possible. Flinders wrote twice to Banks while at the Cape of Good Hope to inform him of the voyage so far, and to note that the astronomer would be leaving the expedition prematurely owing to ill health.⁷⁷ On 20 May 1802, after reaching Sydney, Flinders wrote Banks a detailed progress report on the voyage. The Australian coast from King George's Sound to Port Phillip had been surveyed in detail, and a chance meeting with Baudin's *Le Géographe* had occurred at Encounter Bay, off the south Australian coast. Flinders was relieved to report to his patron that Baudin had only explored 5 degrees of the coast from Bass's Strait westward, and that the French explorer had missed the entrance to Port Phillip and King Island, and had found no ports, inlets or harbours of significance. Flinders added that the *Lady Nelson*, sailing from Sydney, had named and examined King Island and part of the 5 degrees of the coast later seen by the Baudin expedition. Flinders was currently working hard to prepare charts of the *Investigator*'s discoveries on the southern Australian coast to submit

71. Flinders to Banks, 29 April 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, IV, 353.

72. Banks to Flinders, 21 May 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, IV, 372.

73. Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 24 May 1801, Banks Papers, series 65.21.

74. Flinders to Banks, 3 June 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, IV, 380.

75. Flinders to Banks, 6 June 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, IV, 387.

76. Banks to Flinders, June 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, IV, 388.

77. Flinders to Banks, 21 and 29 October 1801, in Bladen, ed., Historical IV, 596, 600. The first of these letters is also in Brunton, ed., Matthew Flinders, 77.

to the Admiralty, through which they would come to Banks's attention. Flinders praised the work of the scientific gentlemen on the voyage; explained that he had taken over the astronomer's duties to the best of his ability; and indicated that he was now planning—after refitting the vessel for 2 months in Sydney—to explore the eastern and northern coasts of New Holland as far as the Gulf of Carpentaria before the north-west monsoon was expected.⁷⁸

Flinders recommenced his voyage from Sydney on 22 July 1802. Over the next 9 months he explored the eastern and northern coasts of Australia, following the path of Cook's *Endeavour* along the Queensland coast, but also adding to previous findings, and undertaking a detailed examination of the Gulf of Carpentaria.⁷⁹ When he reached Timor, Flinders informed Banks that he had submitted his papers about the discoveries made so far to the Admiralty; that he had not yet found a main river or strait leading into the centre of Australia; and that he had demonstrated the possibility of sailing safely through Torres Strait in 3 days. But he also conveyed the news that the *Investigator* was leaking badly and that detailed investigation off the north and west coasts of the continent would have to be abandoned because of the vessel's rotting timbers, which were still in a poor state, despite being caulked at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Flinders decided to head immediately around the Australian coast in an anti-clockwise direction to Sydney. He hoped the governor of New South Wales would then let him have another vessel to finish the survey, or that another ship might arrive from England to make this feasible and transport him back home with his crew and scientific associates. Flinders sent this information to Banks because he could think of no other individual who would be so concerned, from the scientific and geographical aims of the voyage, about the plight of Flinders and his men.⁸⁰

Flinders did not arrive home for a further 7 years. He sailed from Sydney to London on 10 August 1803 on the *Porpoise*, after finding no other suitable ship available for his passage. A week later, however, this vessel was wrecked on a reef in the Coral Sea and Flinders returned to Sydney in a cutter. He then joined the *Cumberland* with the intention of completing the survey of Torres Strait en route back to England. Unfortunately, this ship had deficiencies. Flinders sailed from Port Jackson on 21 September 1803, but by early December the ship was in such bad repair while sailing west through the Indian Ocean that Flinders called at the Ile de France. The French governor of the island, Charles Mathieu Isadore Decaen, thought Flinders was a British spy carrying military dispatches during wartime from Governor King; and so he detained him there for 6.5 years as a prisoner on the island. Not only had Flinders abandoned his survey of the Australian coast, but he had the frustration of being detained at length on a foreign island.⁸¹

78. Flinders to Banks, 20 May 1802, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 755, also in Brunton, ed., *Matthew Flinders*, 80.

79. A narrative account of the voyage is provided in K.A. Austin, **[AQ: 8]** *The Voyage of the Investigator 1801-1803: Commander Matthew Flinders*, R.N. (Sydney, 1964).

80. Flinders to Banks, 28 March 1803, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 77.

81. For a detailed narrative of these occurrences, see Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders*, 279.

Brown and Bauer did not depart with Flinders on the *Porpoise*; instead, they remained in Australia. Brown had agreed with Flinders that Bauer and himself would be much better employed continuing their work at Port Jackson until Flinders' return. Flinders left them enough provisions for 18 months.⁸² Banks approved of their stay in Australia.⁸³ Brown spent 9 months (November 1803–August 1804) collecting in Van Diemen's Land. He also travelled to different parts of New South Wales north of Sydney, especially along the Hawkesbury, Grose and Hunter rivers.⁸⁴ Westall, for his part, was disappointed at the barrenness of much of the Australian coast. He had taken a passage back to England via China in October 1803 after the *Porpoise* was wrecked.⁸⁵

Flinders wrote to Banks on several occasions about his detention on the Ile de France, and expected nothing to happen about his release unless the Admiralty demanded the French give him up. Expressing his innocence of any hostile act towards the French, he believed that Banks would, as his patron, understand the injustice of his imprisonment.⁸⁶ While detained on the Ile de France, Flinders spent much time revising his charts.⁸⁷

In August 1804, he planned to send a copy of his general chart of New Holland to Banks. This was the first occasion that he had used the term 'Australia or Terra Australis' on his chart, arguing that New South Wales ought to remain distinct from New Holland, but that there should be one general name for Australia.⁸⁸ When in May 1805 the French released John Aken, the master of the *Investigator*, Flinders sent him to England with all the accounts in his possession relating to the expedition to Australia. These included 16 charts and an explanatory, though unfinished, memoir, and his first two logbooks up to 1803. He was anxious for Banks to see these accounts that would enable his patron 'to form a just judgment of my exertions and success in prosecuting the investigation of New Holland'. Flinders hoped that his charts could be published, but he wanted to be back in England when that happened so that the engravers did not make blunders.⁸⁹ He

82. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 98, 102, Brown to Flinders, 13 July 1803, and Flinders to Brown and Bauer, 17 July 1803.

83. Bauer to Banks, 8 August 1803, in Marlene J. Norst, Ferdinand Bauer: The Australian Natural History Drawings (London, 1989), 109.

84. Brown to Banks, 30 December 1803, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, V, 284, and in T.G. [AQ: 9]. Vallance, David T. Moore and E.W. Groves, eds., Nature's Investigator: The Diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801–1805 (Canberra, 2001), 463.

85. Mitchell Library, Westall to Banks, 31 January 1804, Banks Papers, series 23.44; Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 307.

86. Flinders to Banks, 12 July and 31 December 1804, 24 February 1805, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, V, 396, 531, 562; Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 5 July 1805, Banks Papers, series 65.36.

87. R.A. [AQ: 10] Skelton, 'The Charting of Australia by Flinders' in T.M. Perry and D.H. Simpson, eds., Drawings by William Westall: Landscape Artist on Board H.M.S. Investigator During the Circumnavigation of Australia by Captain Matthew Flinders R.N. in 1801–1803 (London, 1962), 30.

88. This was Flinders' first use of the name 'Australia': John Healey, The Origins of the Name "Australia", South Australian Geographical Journal, 101 (2002), 104.

89. Cambridge University Library, Flinders to Banks, 23 August 1804, Board of Longitude Papers, RGO 14/51: 18, ff. 172; Flinders to Banks, 16 May 1805, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, V, 624 (quotation).

ordered the rest of his books and papers to remain with his agent in London until his return.⁹⁰ DeCaen refused Flinders permission to send back to England his third logbook and his surveys, soundings and astronomical remarks. Flinders was mortified by this decision, as these details would convey to Banks the successful prosecution of the *Investigator*'s voyage.⁹¹ DeCaen retained the logbook and took it with him to France after the British takeover of the Ile de France in December 1810. The logbook was not returned to the Admiralty in London until 1825.⁹²

For his own pride and ambition, Flinders was anxious to please Banks but felt that his goal would fall short of its aim: 'I acknowledge my vanity in hoping to rise in your estimation upon the perusal of my labours, for I do value your good opinion very highly and have tried to deserve it; throughout the voyage it has been no small stimulus to my exertions in almost every instance, that the execution of such a particular thing would be agreeable to Sir Joseph Banks: such a thing must not be left in such an imperfect state, for Sir Joseph will be told that his protégé has not the ability and industry he is willing to think'.⁹³ Flinders hoped to write up the findings of his voyage while detained in the Ile de France, but he was prevented from doing so because he did not have access to all his books.⁹⁴

Banks made every effort to have Flinders released as soon as he heard of the detention on the Ile de France. In particular, having secured the British government's permission, he wrote to his Parisian correspondents at the Institut de France—the leading body for science and literature—requesting Flinders' release as a literary man on the authority of the Emperor Napoléon.⁹⁵ The Institut de France supported Banks's request by approaching Denis Decrès, the French Minister of Marine and the Colonies, about the case.⁹⁶ Decrès indicated in March 1806 that Flinders would be liberated, and Banks was pleased to report his role in securing this order for someone who had been 'grievously used'. Flinders saw the order for his release in the following year.⁹⁷ But, in fact, it was not until June 1810 that Flinders was allowed to leave the Ile de France.⁹⁸

90. Flinders to Banks, 1 July 1807, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, VI, 274.

91. Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 324, 400.

92. Frank Horner, 'The "Missing" Journal of Flinders', *The Great Circle. Journal of the Australasian Association of Maritime History*, 20 (1998), 138.

93. Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 16 May 1805, Banks Papers, series 65.34.

94. Mitchell Library, Flinders to Banks, 28 November 1805, Banks Papers, series 65.37.

95. Banks to Flinders, 18 June 1805, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, V, 646; Mitchell Library, Camden to Banks, 10 August 1804, and Banks to Jean Baptiste Joseph Delambre, 22 August 1804, Banks Papers series 66.04 and 66.05.

96. Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, Delambre to Banks, 5 March 1805, Banks MSS, Knatchbull Collection, U951Z32/46. For a further plea for members of the Institut de France to support the case for Flinders' freedom, see Banks to Captain Pierre Bernard Milius, 24 May 1806, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 276.

97. TNA, ADM 1/4379, Banks to ?, **JAQ: 11** 27 December 1806; Flinders to Banks, 24 January 1808, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, 420.

98. Banks to Philip Gidley King, 20 September 1806, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, VI, 188; Natural History Museum, London (NHM), Banks to William Marsden, 7 August 1806, Dawson Turner Collection (DTC) XVI, 304; Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, ii, 460.

During the long period of delay, Banks regularly contacted Flinders' wife, Ann, with sympathetic messages hoping for her husband's liberation.⁹⁹ In late September 1810 Banks was able to inform Ann Flinders that her husband had, at last, obtained his release.¹⁰⁰

Flinders wrote various letters to Banks from the *Ile de France*, drawing attention to his future hopes with regard to his naval career, his intention to return to Australia, and the publication of his charts and papers. Flinders wanted to complete his voyage by examining 'the unexplored parts of New Holland', especially the north and west coasts from which he had abruptly curtailed his survey on the *Investigator* after its leaky condition became too serious to continue without repairs.¹⁰¹ The vessel was eventually altered, repaired and sent back from Sydney to England in May 1805. Hearing that the *Investigator* was at Plymouth in December 1805, Flinders hoped she would be sent out to him in the *Ile de France* for the completion of the voyage, but this did not occur.¹⁰² Over 3 years later, while still under detention, Flinders reiterated his desire to embark again on a further voyage of discovery to Australia with the support of Banks, his patron.¹⁰³

While detailed on *Ile de France*, Flinders had read a French review, published in Paris, of the first printed volume to appear from the Baudin expedition to Australia. This was written by Francois Péron, the zoologist on that voyage, under the title *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes* (1807).¹⁰⁴ Flinders reported to Banks that he was disappointed to read in this volume that the French had claimed the discovery of the south coast of Australia from the islands of St Peter and St Francis to Bass Strait under the name of Terre Napoléon. This was a stretch of 1000 leagues of coast. The *Investigator's* expedition was not mentioned in the review. Flinders insisted this was an injustice as the greater part of that coast had been discovered by Lieutenant James Grant and himself.¹⁰⁵ Flinders had marked the parts of the coast discovered by Grant, Baudin and himself on the charts he sent back to the Admiralty. When he showed these charts to Baudin at Port Jackson in May 1802, the French explorer raised no objection to the division and acknowledged that the coast from Western Port, Victoria to Cape Northumberland (near the South Australian border) had been discovered and charted by Grant in 1800.¹⁰⁶ Flinders did not think Péron or other members of the Baudin expedition were responsible for the French claim, but he did not know where the credit for Terre Napoléon had

99. NMM, Banks to Ann Flinders, 4 June 1804, 6 August 1806, 29 December 1806, Flinders Papers, FLI/1; Banks to Ann Flinders, 29 April 1805, 22 May 1807, 19 July 1808, 12 June 1810, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 266, 281, 285, 290.

100. Banks to Ann Flinders, 25 September 1810, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 293.

101. Flinders to Banks, 20 March 1806, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, VI, 50.

102. Flinders to Banks, 8 December 1806, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, VI, 207.

103. Flinders to Banks, 18 January 1810, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, VII, 275.

104. Frank Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801–1803* (Melbourne, 1987), 1. Baudin had died in September 1803.

105. James Grant and John Murray had surveyed this part of the coast on the *Lady Nelson* in 1800, 1801 and 1802. Estensen, *Matthew Flinders*, 204.

106. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 5.

originated.¹⁰⁷ Possibly, Flinders was too generous to Péron, who was anxious to advance his own career and who therefore included laudatory references to Napoléon, and to nomenclature associated with him, in the published first volume of Baudin's expedition.¹⁰⁸

III

Banks took various steps to ensure that the navigational and scientific results of the *Investigator*'s voyage were not frittered away. He corresponded with the naturalist Robert Brown over the flora and fauna collected on the expedition. Brown sent detailed letters to Banks on the progress of the natural history collections, with information on the places where the *Investigator* had anchored and the number of days in particular localities spent on botanical exploration. He noted that the Sydney area was one of the best sites for botanical collection they had come across. Collecting, describing and preserving plants had left him insufficient time to concentrate on zoology; and in mineralogy only rock samples from the surface of the land had been collected. Brown informed Banks of meetings with the ships on the Baudin expedition at Encounter Bay and at Port Jackson, but noted that, although the French vessels had surveyed the coast of Van Diemen's Land in close detail, they had not anchored once on the south coast between Bass Strait and Encounter Bay.¹⁰⁹

Banks had received letters from Brown along with parcels of seeds collected in Australia. Brown informed Banks's librarian Jonas Drysander that the *Investigator* had sailed along Australia's south coast during a season that was much too late for botany: the only places where the season was not too advanced for botanical investigation were King George Sound and Bay I in Flinders' charts.¹¹⁰ Brown explained to Banks that he had observed about 750 species of plants on Australia's south coast and a further 450 on the voyage between Port Jackson and the Cumberland Isles between July and October 1802. Brown reported that Bauer had made 350 drawings of plants and 100 of animals by the time the *Investigator* reached Port Jackson in May 1802.¹¹¹ Brown entrusted botanical specimens gathered in King George Sound to the *Porpoise*, which was wrecked. Fortunately, he had kept duplicates.¹¹² Brown explained to Banks the arrangement of the

107. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 281, Flinders to Banks, 28 February 1809. In 1807 Péron and Louis Freycinet had published, at government expense, an account of the Baudin expedition in Australian waters. This appeared in an English translation in 1809. The name 'Terre Napoléon' was probably authorised by the French government. Estensen, Matthew Flinders, 412; Ernest Scott, *Terre Napoléon* (London, 1910) and *The Life of Matthew Flinders*, 279.

108. Anthony J. Brown, 'Double Vision: The Voyage Narratives of Flinders, Baudin and Péron. The Brock Lecture 2001', *South Australian Geographical Journal*, 100 (2001), 54.

109. Brown to Banks, 30 May and 17 October 1802, in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 204, 287.

110. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 67, Brown to Drysander, 30 May 1802. Bay 1 was Lucky Bay, South Australia. Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 209.

111. Brown to Banks, 30 May and 17 October 1802, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, IV, 776, 855, and in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 204, 287.

112. Brown to Banks, [16] September 1803, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, v, 227, and in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 438.

plants collected, and noted that specimens already sent back to London only had temporary names because he had devoted his time to collecting rather than labelling them in detail.¹¹³

Brown expressed disappointment to Banks about the natural history results of the *Investigator*'s voyage. Writing from Timor at the end of March 1803, he indicated that their botanical acquisitions were much fewer than he had hoped for 'in a country so completely new'. The number of absolutely new species observed amounted to 200. Very little had been accomplished in zoology; few additions were made to ornithology; and mineralogy was a barren field.¹¹⁴ A few months later Brown wrote a long letter to Banks from Port Jackson explaining why he and Bauer were staying in Australia, and specifying the results of their work in Australia so far. He reported the death of Good from dysentery and justified Allen's decision to return home as he had found few minerals. Few acquisitions had been made in zoology: no new quadrupeds and only a few non-descript birds were found. Mineralogy was a barren field. 'Insects & shells', Brown wrote, 'are neither numerous nor interesting'. Brown was disappointed with the botanical specimens he found in the Gulf of Carpentaria and Arnhem Land, which he found little different from those from Endeavour River in Queensland. He suggested that the western coast was by far the richest for plants, and would amply repay a second investigation. By the time he wrote this letter, Brown had seen 2000 plants in New Holland and had so far supplied descriptions for 1600. In arranging his collection, he had first followed Jussieu's system of plant taxonomy, but he soon found so many plants of doubtful affinity that he switched to the Linnean method.¹¹⁵ Brown retained the names of plants to go with his descriptions. He had packed up the collection for shipment to London via Calcutta, and had sent the garden on the *Porpoise*.¹¹⁶

Banks, however, had a more optimistic view of the natural history findings of the voyage. 'The frequent opportunities you have given to the naturalists to investigate does you great credit, both as a navigator and as a considerate man', he wrote to Flinders. 'Natural History is now a study so much in repute with the public', he continued, 'and in itself so interesting, that the good word of the naturalists when you come home will not fail to interest a large number of people in your favour'.¹¹⁷ A further encomium followed in a letter to Brown:

Your Commander deserves, in my opinion, great credit from the Public for the pains he must have taken to give you a variety of opportunities of Landing & Botanising. Had Cooke paid the same attention to the Naturalists as *he* seems to have done, we should have done much more at

113. Brown to Banks, 12 December 1804, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 509, and in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 562.

114. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 89, Brown to Banks, 30 March 1803.

115. The French botanist Antoine Laurent de Jussieu classified taxa under a 'natural system' whereby they are grouped according to shared characters of flowers, fruits and vegetative structures. The Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus relied on a 'sexual system' that ordered genera according to the number of stamens and styles.

116. Brown to Banks, 6 August 1803, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 180, and in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 417.

117. NMM, Banks to Flinders, 10 April 1803, Flinders Papers, FLI/1.

that time. However, the bias of the public mind had not so decidedly marked Natural History for a favorite pursuit as it now has. Cook might have met with reproof for sacrificing a day's fair wind to the accommodation of the Naturalists. Capt. Flinders will meet with thanks & praise for every sacrifice he makes to the improvement of natural knowledge which is compatible with the execution of his orders.¹¹⁸

Banks thought Flinders had investigated successfully the south-western part of Australia, and that the French would not prove great rivals because they had sailed away from the mainland along much of the coast and missed many openings found by Flinders.¹¹⁹ Banks was gratified to have confirmation from Brown that Baudin and his scientists would not 'appear likely to prove formidable rivals to you as Investigators' as 'they seem too much afraid of the Land'.¹²⁰

A parcel of seeds sent through by Brown was already sown in Kew Gardens by April 1803, and Banks hoped they would grow successfully and help the gardens prosper.¹²¹ In August 1804 Banks received from the Admiralty a further 12 kegs of seeds from Brown.¹²² As the natural history specimens arrived back in London, Banks negotiated with the Admiralty over their value and future. He urged that Brown and Bauer's employment be continued, citing the precedent of the Admiralty's support for the draughtsmen on Cook's second and third Pacific voyages who were retained to finish their sketches. Banks offered to superintend the care of the collections and inventories of them. 'The cases of natural history sent home by our adventurers', he wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty, 'are sufficiently numerous to do credit to their diligence; they have been employed to gather in the Harvest from the Boundless Fields of nature, & have reaped plentifully'.¹²³

In 1805 Brown sent Banks a full version of his findings in Australia. He had combined his gatherings from different parts of New Holland into one general collection, and had completed the first eight classes of Jussieu's *Series Ordinum Naturalium*, containing more than 1000 species.¹²⁴ Bauer undertook excursions to Norfolk Island and to various parts of New South Wales, especially Newcastle, the Blue Mountains and the south coast.¹²⁵ By early August 1803 Bauer had collected more than 1000 sketches of plants in

118. Banks's opinions here were no doubt influenced by remembrance of his acrimonious withdrawal from Cook's second voyage of Pacific exploration. In Cook's defence, it should be noted that the herbarium collection made on this voyage was less extensive than on the first voyage of Pacific exploration because there were fewer landfalls and it was sometimes the wrong time of year to collect plants in flower and fruit. Phyllis I. Edwards, 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Botany of Captain Cook's Three Voyages of Exploration,' *Pacific Studies*, 2 (1978), 28.

119. NMM, Banks to Brown, 10 April 1803, Flinders Papers, FLI/1.

120. Banks to Brown, 8 April 1803, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 244.

121. Banks to Brown, 8 April 1803, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 244.

122. Banks to Brown, 30 August 1804, in Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 258.

123. Banks to Marsden, 19 October 1805, in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 601.

124. Banks to Banks, 21 February 1805, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 558, and, with some additional material, in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 577.

125. Marlene Norst, 'Recognition and Renaissance: Ferdinand Lucas Bauer, 1760–1826,' *Australian Natural History*, 23 (1990), 300.

New Holland and made 200 drawings of animals. But he had as yet no finished drawings to send back to London.¹²⁶ When the repaired *Investigator* was about to leave Sydney for England in May 1805, Governor King reported to Banks that he had done everything in his power to ensure that Brown and Bauer's collections would be returned safely to London.¹²⁷

On 24 May 1805 Brown and Bauer sailed back from Sydney to England on the *Investigator*.¹²⁸ Westall had arrived back in London at the end of 1804 after a voyage on the *Rolla* from Australia via Canton. This gave Banks the opportunity to liaise with the Admiralty over plans for the dissemination of their work. The rivalry with the Baudin expedition lent urgency to the task. And this meant that important findings of the *Investigator*'s expedition could proceed in London, even though Flinders was still detained on Ile de France. Westall's sketches were returned to England on 1 August 1804 by Robert Fowler, formerly 1st Lieutenant of the *Investigator*, and transferred first to the Admiralty. Westall had kept around 160 sketches, drawings and watercolours. Thirty-eight cases of natural history specimens and drawings from the voyage were landed at Liverpool on 13 October 1805.¹²⁹ Brown appealed to Drysander to have the collection transferred to London. Banks paid the cost of wagon carriage, and presented a claim for £87 to the Admiralty.¹³⁰ Drysander informed Banks of the circumstances of Brown and Bauer's arrival.¹³¹

Altogether, Brown collected 3600 specimens of plants, one case of insects, three boxes of minerals and about 150 dried skins of birds in Australia. He wanted to arrange and describe the plants himself, but preferred to transfer the arrangement of the birds, insects and minerals to experts in those branches of natural history.¹³² Banks noted that the seeds had already been sent to the Royal Gardens, Kew, where they constituted 'a large portion of the newest ornaments of that extensive & possibly unparalleled collection'.¹³³ Bauer had undertaken 2073 sketches in Australia, and needed time to complete them.¹³⁴

Banks reported on the collections to the Admiralty. He estimated it would take Brown and Bauer 3 years to arrange the plants in systematic order and to finish the most interesting sketches. Brown's collections were currently held at Banks's London home. Bauer retained his sketches, but Banks requested that the Admiralty should arrange for their transfer to 32 Soho Square. This would enable Brown to compare them with the plants he was examining and classifying. Banks asked the Admiralty to pay Brown and Bauer's salaries so that they could complete their work from the voyage. Banks, who would

126. BL, Add MS 32,439, f. 125, Bauer to Banks, 8 August 1803.

127. Philip Gidley King to Banks, 20 May 1805, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 626.

128. Chambers, ed., *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks*, 260.

129. Brown to Banks, 13 October 1805, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, V, 711.

130. Brown to Marsden, 5 November 1805, and to Drysander, 29 October 1805, in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 603; BL, Add. MS 32,439, ff. 244.

131. Drysander to Banks, 7 November 1805, in Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 605, with Brown's account of the income and expenditure related to the *Investigator* voyage on pages 606 and 607.

132. On the insects see W. Kirby, 'New Species of Insects Collected in New Holland by Robert Brown,' *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*, 12 (1818), 454.

133. TNA, ADM1/4379, [Banks] to Marsden, [25] January 1806.

134. TNA, ADM1/4379, [Banks] to Marsden, January 1806.

oversee this enterprise, suggested that Brown should select one specimen of each plant species and publish at his own expense a succinct account of them; that Bauer should be directed to make finished drawings; and that Brown and Bauer should be encouraged to publish engravings and descriptions of the most interesting objects of natural history that they had collected. Banks indicated that the expedition had been very successful in collecting 'the vegetable produce of the Earth & preparing dried specimens of every species of Plant in such a manner as to ensure a perfect & critical examination of their natural structure & constituent parts when they can at leisure be compared with Books & Specimens already deposited in Collections at home'. He also requested that orders be issued by the Admiralty for the deposit of minerals, quadrupeds, birds and insects among the collections of the British Museum.¹³⁵

Brown distributed many zoological and mineralogical specimens to friends who would work on them rather than allowing them to be deposited at the Admiralty's offices, where they might be neglected.¹³⁶ In January 1806, Brown was appointed as the first librarian of the Linnean Society of London. He had sufficient time in this position to consider the botanical issues raised by the *Investigator* expedition. He was paid by the Admiralty until the end of 1810.¹³⁷ In the period 1806–1810, Brown was based at Gerrard Street, Soho, a stone's throw from Banks's London residence. He regularly consulted with Banks and Dryander over the classification of his Australian natural history findings. Brown took 4 months after arriving back in England in November 1805 to examine the general arrangement of his plant specimens. With Dryander's help, he selected specimens for public collection. He had already gone through the first eight classes of the Linnean system by June 1807. By that time he had re-examined the species, completed his descriptions, and had tried to ascertain the affinities of 546 new species and 688 species altogether. He found the number of species applicable to useful purposes was very small. 'The Interesting Novelties to the Botanist are however numerous', he pointed out to Banks, '& are chiefly contained in the natural orders of *Protaceae*, *Rubiaceae*, *Companulaceae* & *Orchideae*, each of which has afforded several new genera'.¹³⁸

By June 1809 Brown reported to Banks that he had now described 1600 plants, and had begun to prepare full details of the genera. In 1810, when Brown became Banks's librarian, he published a volume on his Australian field investigations entitled *Prodromus Florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van-Dieman, exhibens characteres planterum quas innis 1802–1805...collegit descripsit R. Brown*. He hoped the French botanists would not anticipate this by publishing their findings on New Holland.¹³⁹ He was fortunate that the French were delayed in writing up the botanical findings of the Baudin expedition. This

135. Banks to Secretary Marsden, January 1806, in Bladen, ed., *Historical Records*, VI, 16; TNA, ADM 1/4379, Banks to Marsden, January 1806 and [25] January 1806 (quotation). For Banks's handling of the plant species, drawings and minerals sent back from the *Investigator*'s voyage, see Neil Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum: The World of Collecting, 1770–1830* (London, 2007), 53.

136. David Philip Miller, 'Joseph Banks, Empire, and "Centers of Calculation" in Late Hanoverian London' in Miller and Reill, eds., *Visions of Empire*, 29.

137. Mabberley, *Jupiter Botanicus*, 177.

138. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 254, [Brown] to [Banks], 18 June 1807.

139. BL, Add MS 32,439, f. 287, Brown to Banks, 2 June 1809.

meant that his own botanical work was well known to scholars before the French published their results. Ironically, Brown gained credit for using the system of botanical classification advanced by Jussieu, who had been a leading patron of Baudin.¹⁴⁰ At the beginning of 1810, Brown's next progress report to Banks noted that he had arranged about 2800 out of 3400 plants; selected specimens for the public collection; and described 2200, of which 1700 were new species and comprehended new genera. During 1809, Bauer, for his part, submitted to Banks a catalogue of his 145 finished Australian drawings.¹⁴¹ The total number of Bauer's sketches in Australia was 1542 plants and 263 animals along with 80 sketches of plants and 40 of animals on Norfolk Island; 60 plants on Timor; and 79 plants at the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁴²

By April 1811, Banks was able to inform the Admiralty about Brown and Bauer's progress. Brown had finalised his arrangement and classification of Australia's flora and fauna; he had finished one volume and was working on a second. Bauer had completed 150 of the 2000 drawings that Banks thought were most interesting for the advancement of botany. Banks referred to their being completed 'in a state of masterly excellence'. Brown's laborious work and Bauer's elaborate drawings—each one taking more than a week to finish—had slowed up progress, but Banks hoped the Admiralty would pay their salaries until the end of 1811. Banks noted that the public already had access to 'the advantages of the discoveries in Natural History made under the liberal equipment of the Investigator'.¹⁴³

Brown worked on a second volume of his *Prodromus*, but failed to complete it. He spent time recording not only the plants he had collected in Australia, but also those gathered by Banks and Solander on the *Endeavour's* voyage 40 years earlier.¹⁴⁴ Brown was still working on the botanical specimens from the *Investigator* expedition when Banks died in 1820. Brown resigned his Linnean Society post in May 1822 after he had acquired the lease of Banks's old house in Soho Square. He became the first keeper at the new Banksian department at the British Museum. The first set of Brown's Australian collection is now housed in the Natural History Museum, London.¹⁴⁵ Brown's botanical findings from the *Investigator* expedition took much longer than was ideal for their dissemination, but they were classified and described much more systematically than the botanical results of Baudin's voyage. The *Géographe* arrived back in France without a botanist (who had been left ill at Timor). For various reasons, its botanical findings were not worked up and published in full; they are still being analysed today at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle of Paris.¹⁴⁶ Bauer completed his botanical drawings for publication

140. Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath and John West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town, SA, 2004), 346.

141. BL, Add. MS 32,439, ff. 288, n.d. but 1809.

142. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 301, Brown to Banks, 6 January 1810.

143. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 319, Banks to [the Admiralty], 30 April 1811.

144. Edwards, 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Botany of Captain Cook's Three Voyages of Exploration,' 27.

145. Mabblerley, *Jupiter Botanicus*, 265; Vallance, Moore and Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator*, 10. The subsequent fate of Brown's specimens, from the death of Banks in 1820 to the present, is outlined in Groves, 'Procrastination or Unpredictable Circumstances?' 131.

146. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 360; Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, 348.

between 1806 and 1819 in accordance with Admiralty instructions. They were housed in the Admiralty Library until 1843 and then transferred to the British Museum.¹⁴⁷ Bauer published some of his best botanical illustrations and engravings in *Illustrationes Florae Novae Hollandiae: sive icons generum quae in Prodomo Florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van-Diemen descripsit Robertus Brown/Ferdinandi Bauer* (1813–1816), with detailed descriptions in Latin.

IV

The capstone to Banks's patronage of the *Investigator*'s expedition lay in the careful way in which he facilitated Flinders' publication of his book and atlas relating to the voyage, and his assistance to Westall over his sketches and paintings. Flinders was elated to return to England on 24 October 1810, and to find he had been promoted in the Navy to post captain.¹⁴⁸ Banks sent warm greetings to Flinders on his return home: he hoped 'to have the pleasure of shaking you by the hand & congratulating you on your Present Situation & Condoling the Evils you have endured & the years of your youth you have defended from French Tyranny & oppression'.¹⁴⁹ Banks and Flinders had requested that Flinders' commission should be backdated to 1804, the year he would have returned to England if he had not been detained by DeCaen. But the Admiralty only agreed to backdate the commission to 7 May 1810, when the current First Lord of the Admiralty, Charles Philip Yorke, assumed that office.¹⁵⁰

Banks had long awaited Flinders' return home so that his protégé could publish the various discoveries made on the *Investigator* expedition in relation to hydrography, geography and natural history. This, claimed Banks, would 'add to the splendor of our National Character, by asserting our Superiority in Science as well as Seamanship, over our Rivals & whatever nation they may belong'.¹⁵¹ It had been necessary to await Flinders' arrival home in order for the written account of the *Investigator*'s voyage to proceed. Within a fortnight of arriving back in England, Banks and Flinders met to discuss the narrative of the expedition.¹⁵² In January 1811 the Admiralty decided to allow Flinders to proceed with writing up his narrative, and hoped this could be achieved expeditiously. The Admiralty wanted details of the voyage made publicly available; they considered Flinders' expedition to have a comparable public interest to Cook's voyages. The Admiralty authorised Banks to superintend the draughtsmen and engravers employed to help with the task, and requested that he take charge of the sketches, charts, journals and other manuscripts in their possession that Flinders had returned to them while abroad.¹⁵³ The expectation was that the drawings and engravings would be prepared at public expense, and the paper and

147. Norst, Ferdinand Bauer, 84.

148. Flinders to Banks, 25 October 1810, in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, VII, 436.

149. NMM, Banks to Flinders, 28 October 1810, Flinders Papers, FLI/1.

150. Royal Society, London, Banks to John Barrow, 20 October 1810, M.M. 6 71; Banks to Barrow, 24 October [1810], in Chambers, ed., The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks, 297.

151. BL, Add MS 32,439, ff. 319, Banks to [the Admiralty], 30 April 1811.

152. Entry for 9 November 1810, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 330.

153. Entry for 16 January 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 341.

printing paid for out of the proceeds of the work.¹⁵⁴ Banks, in fact, arranged for the Admiralty to pay the expense of the charts and engravings for Flinders' book.¹⁵⁵

Banks took the lead in commissioning the engravers and in the appointment of a printer and publisher. Flinders regularly visited Banks in Soho Square to discuss progress on the volumes to be published. He informed Banks of his discussions with the cartographers Aaron and John Arrowsmith over the scale of the charts of the Australian coast.¹⁵⁶ He went to breakfast, by invitation from Banks, to meet the bookseller George Nicol, who was to be the printer of his book.¹⁵⁷ At Banks's invitation, Flinders went to Sunday evening meetings at Banks's home and to some meetings of the Royal Society.¹⁵⁸ Flinders also borrowed books from Banks's extensive library to help with writing the introduction to his book, as well as visiting Arrowsmiths, the British Museum and Dalrymple's house to gain additional information.¹⁵⁹ At Banks's London house Flinders met John Pond, the Astronomer Royal, to talk over the recalculation of his astronomical observations. This was necessary because revised calculations needed to be worked out to allow for deviation errors in the compass bearings taken on the voyage.¹⁶⁰ Flinders met the naturalist Brown several times at 32 Soho Square. On one of these occasions it was decided that Brown should write the account of the botany of Terra Australis, which would absolve Flinders from carrying out this task in his book. Brown's summary of the expedition's botanical findings appeared in an 80-page appendix of *A Voyage to Terra Australis*.¹⁶¹

It was not all plain sailing for Flinders. Some of his written materials from the expedition were unavailable for checking his memory of the voyage. Thus, Flinders needed access to his third logbook, which DeCaen had confiscated, to write about the passage through Torres Strait with authority. Though he wrote to the Bureau of the Marine in Paris for its return, this was to no avail.¹⁶² In addition, there were occasional disagreements with Banks. The most significant bone of contention lay in Banks's disapproval of using the name Terra Australis to describe the whole of the Australian continent.¹⁶³ This

154. Barrow to Banks, 15 January 1811 (two letters), in Bladen, ed., Historical Records, VII, 487; Mitchell Library, Banks to the Admiralty, Banks Papers, series 70.02.

155. Mitchell Library, Flinders to S. H. Greig, 22 February 1813, Matthew Flinders private letterbook, vol. 3 (1810–1814).

156. Entries for 22 and 26 January 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 343.

157. Entry for 6 March 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 349.

158. Entry for 27 March 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 353.

159. Entry for 26 June 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 367.

160. Entry for 22 August 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 374; Skelton, 'The Charting of Australia by Flinders,' 30. Flinders published papers on the marine barometer and on variations of the mariner's compass in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, London, in 1806–1807.

161. Entry for 9 February 1812, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 394.

162. Mitchell Library, Flinders to Monsieur Rivière, 2 October 1812, Flinders private letterbook, vol. 3.

163. Entries for 14 and 17 August 1813, in Brown and Dooley, eds., Matthew Flinders Private Journal, 450.

matter was quickly resolved, however, for Flinders persuaded Banks that Terra Australis was an appropriate way of representing the existing New Holland and New South Wales by a collective name and as a way of recognising British acquisition of the Australian continent. Banks strongly favoured the retention of 'New Holland' as the name for the Australian continent, but by August 1813 he had agreed to 'Terra Australis' instead.¹⁶⁴

Flinders' meetings at Banks's home involved consultation over the scientific and artistic findings of the voyage. By June 1809 Banks was pressing the Admiralty to assist Westall in completing his pictures of places visited on the *Investigator* expedition. Banks agreed to take responsibility to have the paintings done from the drawings Westall made on the voyage.¹⁶⁵ Westall had drawn some coastal profiles, as well as sketches of flora and fauna, portraits of Aborigines and landscapes.¹⁶⁶ Flinders accompanied Westall to Banks's house in early 1811 to examine Westall's sketches and paintings, and Bauer's extensive collection of birds, fish, insects and quadrupeds. The aim was to select illustrations from these materials to embellish the published account of the *Investigator*'s expedition.¹⁶⁷ Between 1809 and 1812 Westall made nine paintings that were engraved for *A Voyage to Terra Australis*.¹⁶⁸ He exhibited some of them in 1810–1812, but only a few were completed for exhibition or publication. Most were kept by Westall until his death, when the precursor of the Royal Commonwealth Society bought them from Westall's son.¹⁶⁹

For his part, Flinders worked assiduously on finishing his book and charts.¹⁷⁰ These tasks were undertaken while he was suffering from a serious gravel complaint that frequently confined him to bed. In the last few months of his life in 1814, when he was very ill, Flinders regularly corrected proofs of his manuscript. On 9 May 1814 he was 'occupied examining the General Chart, and making out a list of positions for T. Arrowsmith to complete the tracks'. On 29 June, Arrowsmith brought him a set of proofs of all the charts for the atlas, and Flinders gave him a note to Banks expressing his approval of the engravings.¹⁷¹ A few weeks later, Flinders finished the great task of completing *A Voyage*

164. Entry for 19 August 1813, in Brown and Dooley, eds., *Matthew Flinders Private Journal*, 451; Mitchell Library, *Flinders to Banks*, 17 August 1813, *Flinders private letterbook*, vol. 3; Healey, 'The Origins of the name "Australia"', 107.

165. Entry for 7 June 1809 in Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington*. Volume 9. January 1808–June 1809 (New Haven, 1982), 3481; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 196.

166. Elizabeth Findlay, *Arcadian Quest: William Westall's Australian Sketches* (Canberra, 1998); Peter Monteath, 'Contradictory Encounters: William Westall in Australia' in Ann Chittleborough, Gillian Dooley, Brenda Glover and Rick Hosking, eds., *Alas, for the Pelicans! Flinders, Baudin and Beyond* (Kent Town, SA, 2002), 47.

167. Entries for 31 January and 2 February 1811, in Brown and Dooley, eds., *Matthew Flinders Private Journal*, 344.

168. Kay Stehn and Alex George, 'Artist in a New Land: William Westall in New Holland' in Wege, George, Gathe, Lemson and Napier, eds., *Matthew Flinders and his Scientific Gentlemen*, 87.

169. Perry and Simpson, eds., *Drawings by William Westall*.

170. Banks wrote part of an unfinished introduction to the book: see the draft in Mitchell Library, *Banks Papers* 70.16.

171. Entries for 9 May and 29 June 1814 in Brown and Dooley, eds., *Matthew Flinders Private Journal*, 475, 484.

to *Terra Australis* with its accompanying plates and atlas. The book included a set of coast profiles from Westall's paintings and 10 botanical plates by Bauer. *A Voyage to Terra Australis* was published on 18 July 1814, and Flinders died the next day.¹⁷²

V

In a multitude of ways, Banks had served as an alert, informed and energetic patron for the preparations for the *Investigator*'s expedition and for the dissemination of its scientific and geographical knowledge. Banks, as this article demonstrates, served as an essential facilitator for Flinders' ambitions: his connections with influential men in government departments was second-to-none and, once committed to the expedition, he made pertinent enquiries, offered recommendations and drew up plans to promote the voyage. Banks knew the right contacts in government departments and offices, notably the Admiralty, but also the Navy Board and the Victualling Board. He was easily able to muster the support of the relevant officials. With his knowledge of sailing on Cook's *Endeavour* voyage and his understanding of the scientific requirements for the circumnavigation of Australia, Banks took a leading role in recruiting the leading personnel to man the ship, especially the scientific gentlemen, and he secured state-of-the-art scientific instruments to support the navigation of so ambitious an enterprise. This was all carried out expeditiously and decisively. Most important of all, Banks recognised in Flinders someone who had the ambition and the nautical skill to carry out the *Investigator*'s expedition with full commitment. Banks and Flinders combined a passion for improving geographical, nautical and scientific knowledge of the last inhabitable continent discovered by explorers.

Banks played a crucial role in ensuring that the achievements of the *Investigator*'s voyage were not lost. He made repeated attempts to have Flinders released from his confinement in the Ile de France. He was updated from time to time on Flinders' situation through correspondence received from that island. He corresponded with Flinders, Bauer and Brown to ensure that the achievements of the expedition—the charts and the natural history specimens—were not abandoned. This also involved discussions with the Admiralty. Banks informed Flinders about the state of the rival French voyage of exploration to the South Seas and the dissemination of its findings. Flinders remained in touch with Banks, and was concerned about his naval rank and whether he could resume his maritime exploration of Australia. After Brown, Bauer, Westall and Flinders returned to England at different times, Banks ensured that their findings from the voyage were put into systematic form for wider public dissemination by persuading the Admiralty to pay their salaries and by personally overseeing their work during the several years necessary to complete the various tasks required. Banks also secured positions for Brown with the Linnean Society and in his own library and herbarium.

The achievements of the *Investigator* expedition were substantial. Flinders completed the first circumnavigation of Australia. Though the vessel's leaks meant that he could not spend sufficient time charting and surveying Australia's west and north-west coasts, he

172. Mitchell Library, Ann Flinders to Thomas Pitot, 29 July 1814, Flinders private letterbook, vol. 3.

surveyed much of the remaining coastline in great detail, naming hundreds of landscape features, preparing charts and writing a detailed commentary in his logbook journals. The text and atlas in *A Voyage to Terra Australis* was the outcome of his written work on the expedition. Flinders' charts were used as a correct record of the mapping of the Australian coast for well over a century after his death. But because he had led an exploratory voyage, he could not survey everything in detail; the task of completing a survey of Australia's west and north-west coasts was later undertaken by Philip Parker King on four voyages between 1818 and 1822.¹⁷³ Brown's botanical collections were among the most important ever made on a British voyage of exploration.¹⁷⁴ His use of the Jussieu system and his contribution to plant geography were particularly worthy of note.¹⁷⁵ The vast botanical collections of the voyage are still being analysed and published.¹⁷⁶ Bauer's drawings of animals and fish are a significant contribution to scientific knowledge and to the history of Australian art.¹⁷⁷ While Flinders and his scientific gentlemen deserve great credit for their skill, fortitude and professional expertise, however, none of these achievements would have become possible without Banks's patronage. Banks greatly facilitated the expansion of geographical knowledge and of natural history through his unstinting support for the advancement of science and maritime exploration. To investigate the role of Banks as patron of the voyage is therefore to show how the importance of a single, highly influential man could forge the connections with the individuals and government departments that had to be coordinated for the *Investigator's* expedition to succeed.

173. Philip P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*. Performed between the years 1818 and 1822, 2 vols. (London, 1827).

174. This was already claimed by J.D. [AQ: 12] Hooker in his *Flora of Tasmania* (London, 1859), cxiv.

175. Steven, *First Impressions*, 71, 75.

176. Moore, 'Robert Brown on H.M.S. *Investigator*,' 59.

177. Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, 385.